THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Three MARCH, 1912 Number Five

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

Publishers' Chat with Readers

ENLARGEMENT

Our advertising is encroaching on our reading matter to such an extent that some enlargement of our space is necessary. Beginning with the Easter number, therefore, THE CRISIS will be 48 instead of 44 pages.

THE CRISIS FOR APRIL

The Easter number will be the best number we have ever issued, and that is saying a good deal. The cover will be a reproduction in the original colors of an exquisite **water color by Richard Brown,** the new young colored artist, protégé of the N. A. A. C. P., who has been pronounced by a great English critic "one of the two best artists in America." Mr. Brown is painting this picture especially for THE CRISIS.

Beside this we are glad to announce one of the literary events of the year, a new short story, **"The Doll," by Charles W. Chesnutt.**

This is Mr. Chesnutt's only published work since "The Colonel's Dream," and is done in his usual inimitable style.

NEW DRESS—Simultaneously with our enlargement will come some changes in typography—a wider column, some decorative initials and many minor matters to increase the comfort of the reader. In fact, we propose to have the best-printed magazine in America before we are satisfied.

BOOKS—When our advertising man wanted to open a department for the sale of books we were a bit doubtful. Now that he has already sold over $200 worth we are convinced. He is prepared to-day to execute all your book orders at the lowest rates. We handle all published books on any subject. Try us.

PICTURES—We sell pictures. Imagine, for instance, the head of our cover girl on heavy tinted paper for framing! Only 15 cents. Then there's Douglass, John Brown, anybody, at a very reasonable rate. Write us.

CIRCULATION—Our business man says we shall have to print 20,000 copies for Easter. We ran out last month and had to disappoint several agents.

ADVERTISING—We consider ourselves fortunate in having reached that stage where we may point with pride to a list of satisfied advertisers, who, by their expressions of confidence in our worth as an advertising medium, have made us such a factor in the business world as to warrant our asking a higher price for advertising space.

First and foremost with us is the desire to gain and retain the confidence of our readers and advertisers. To this end we have kept our standard high by offering the most reliable advertisements, and this policy will be strictly followed.

Beginning May 1, 1912, the advertising rates will be advanced to 10 cents per line, agate measurement (14 lines to the inch), but all contracts made prior to that date will be honored at the present low rate until the date of their expiration.

To those to whose support and encouragement we owe the existence of THE CRISIS we promise that our most sincere efforts will be made to bring together the best representatives of the world's commercial highway, with a tempting variety of luxuries and necessities, making our advertising department a real department store where each member of the family may shop "by the fireside."

The following excerpts from letters may be of interest to our readers and advertisers:

"The results to date have been very satisfactory to us; the replies received indicating that your magazine has a good circulation among mail-order buyers.

"We have advertised in a number of magazines and have paid as high as $7 per line for space, and in many cases the results were not equal to those received from your magazine in which the rates are very much lower."

"I am pleased to inform you that my advertisement in THE CRISIS has brought satisfactory results. This morning's mail brings me a letter from Pennsylvania and one from Kansas."

"Please find enclosed check for $8 to settle our account. We had a few important inquiries from your many readers and will call on you again."

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Editor
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WELCOME WORDS

For the past year the country at large has read with increasing interest and instruction your splendid publication, THE CRISIS. It is no doubt the ablest and most timely publication of the day dealing with the problems of the darker races. Splendidly arranged, unrivaled in the force and power of its editorship, difficult to be surpassed in literary form, THE CRISIS is the most potent and convincing voice pleading to a prejudiced world for the liberty, equality and justice to colored peoples. I have enjoyed and learned much from it and I believe that its appearance has increased the inspiration of the darker peoples and strengthened their determination in the United States and elsewhere to continue the struggle for justice and freedom to the very end. As an evidence that it may continue and prosper I have done for it what I do not do for anybody—ask for subscriptions.

GEORGE W. ELLIS,
Chicago, Ill.

I am writing to congratulate you upon the editorial, "The Gall of Bitterness," and upon securing for THE CRISIS the picture "The Social Life of Colored America." Both will make particularly good impression upon the readers of THE CRISIS. The editorial is simply perfect; could not be improved upon. We have received several letters from our subscribers who have received the two recent issues of THE CRISIS expressing their thanks and praise for the publication.

Yours faithfully,
N. F. MOSSELL,
Philadelphia, Pa.

May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the excellent magazine you are publishing and on the splendid success of the same? Sincerely wishing you a continuance of all this, I am,

Yours for the race,
IDA WELLS BARNETT,
Chicago, Ill.

Agents wanted who can furnish references.
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For the industrial, literary, moral and religious training of the Negro youth.
Terms reasonable.
For particulars address

FLORA E. MAYERS, Principal

606 Payne Street Knoxville, Tenn.

Lest you forget, we remind you that the Easter CRISIS will be brimful of good things for every member of the family.

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"HALF A MAN"

By

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

With a Foreword by Dr. Franz Boas, of Columbia University

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LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., Publishers, NEW YORK

☞ This book is for sale in the Book Department of THE CRISIS, 20 Vesey St., New York.

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by

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Drawings by H. S. DE LAY

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THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA. A Study in Economic History; By R. R. Wright, Jr., Sometime Research Fellow in Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania. Price, Paper, $2.00; Cloth, $2.50.

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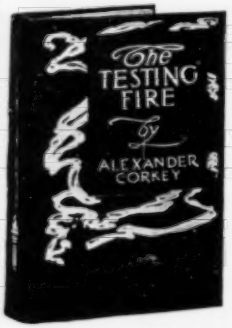

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Author of "The Victory of Allan Rutledge"

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NEW YORK CITY

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Paul Laurence Dunbar

Containing his complete poetical works, his best short stories, numerous anecdotes and a complete biography of the famous poet.

EXTRACT FROM INTRODUCTION.

I think I should scarcely trouble the reader with a special appeal in behalf of this book if it had not specially appealed to me for reasons apart from the author's race, origin and condition. The world is too old now and I find myself too much of its mood to care for the work of a poet because he is black; because his father and mother were slaves; because he was, before and after he began to write poems, an elevator boy. These facts would certainly attract me to him as a man if I knew him to have a literary ambition, but when it came to his literary art, I must judge it irrespective of these facts, and enjoy or endure it for what it was in itself.

—William Dean Howells.

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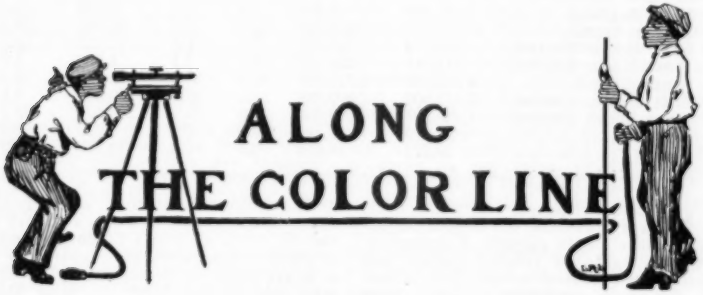
THE CRISIS

Volume Three MARCH, 1912 Number Five



SOCIAL UPLIFT.

The project for a Negro exposition in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of emancipation has not been given up by R. R. Wright of Savannah, Ga., who originally proposed it.

A delegation of colored men appeared before a senate committee on expositions lately and it looks as though a bill appropriating $250,000 might pass through Congress.

The State of Pennsylvania has appropriated $20,000 for an exposition in Philadelphia. H. W. Bass, the colored member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, is at the head of the work, but his efforts are being hampered by the white politicians, who are determined to use the appropriation as a bribery fund. The fight is being watched with considerable interest.

The State of New York is contemplating a similar appropriation for the Philadelphia celebration.

¶ The Harriet Tubman Home of Auburn, N. Y., is still in need of about $15 a month to pay its expenses. Contributions sent to Rev. A. E. Brooks will be acknowledged.

¶ The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women reports that it cared for 900 girls during the last year.

¶ In Virginia eighteen counties observed Colored Tuberculosis Day, February 12.

¶ Mrs. Emeline Reavy of Newark, N. J., has left bequests to a colored church in Orange and to the Old Folks' Home at Irvington.

¶ The officers of the National Guard Association and others connected with the New York militia are still fighting vigorously the proposal to organize a Negro regiment.

¶ Howard E. Primus, a colored boy, won the $10 gold prize at Camden, N. J., for an oration in a contest between high-school seniors.

¶ The Socialist National Convention, which may meet at Oklahoma City in May, will take up the Negro question in all probability. The last time that the Socialists touched the question was in the convention of 1901, when they passed resolutions which contained the following passages:

"Resolved, That we, the Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, do hereby assure our Negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world.

"Resolved, That we, the American Socialist party, invite the Negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation, by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

¶ The latest census records relating to the colored population in the various divisions of the United States as compared with 1900 are as follows:

Division and State.	Number.		Per cent. of total.		Increase, 1910 - 1900.	
	1910.	1900.	1910.	1900.	Number.	Per cent.
United States—Total....	9,828,294	8,833,994	10.7	11.6	994,300	11.3
Geographic Divisions:						
New England	66,294	59,099	1.0	1.1	7,195	12.2
Middle Atlantic	417,849	325,921	2.2	2.1	91,928	28.2
East North Central.	300,779	257,842	1.6	1.6	42,937	16.7
West North Central.	243,241	237,909	2.1	2.3	5,332	2.2
South Atlantic	4,112,487	3,729,017	33.7	35.7	383,470	10.3
East South Central.	2,652,506	2,499,886	31.5	33.1	152,620	6.1
West South Central.	1,984,397	1,694,066	22.6	25.9	290,331	17.1
Mountain	21,519	15,590	0.8	0.9	5,929	38.0
Pacific	29,222	14,664	0.7	0.6	14,558	99.3

¶ The colored people of Vancouver, B. C., have organized the Negro Christian Alliance for the purpose of championing the rights of colored people and raising their general status. Mr. Milton P. Fuller is president. They have bought a lot and will erect a hall for meetings. The organization is incorporated under the Benevolent Societies Act of British Columbia.

¶ Wood's directory, 1912, of New Orleans shows the remarkable organization of the colored population of that city. They have six asylums and homes, thirty-nine churches, six clubs, three hospitals, sixteen schools and one theatre. There are 230 benevolent organizations and twenty-two trades unions. There are listed in the trade directory six bands, thirty-five contractors and builders, six dentists, nineteen physicians, seven druggists, three hotels, two industrial insurance companies, five lawyers, thirty-nine midwives and trained nurses, twenty-four music teachers, twenty-one painters and paperhangers, three photographers, eleven printers and binders, eight tailors and eight undertakers.

¶ In Greenville, Miss., there are five colored physicians, an insurance society with assets of over $70,000; a grocery store, a bank, a pharmacy, three lawyers, a dozen churches and four public schools. Most of the mechanics and employees in the oil mills are colored and the leading contractor, Mr. George Braddock, is colored.

¶ A theatre designed exclusively for Negroes, at which only Negro talent will be employed, has just been opened in Chattanooga and is the only one of its kind in the State. The new theatre has a seating capacity of about 700, with six boxes on each side. The stage is equipped with every feature to be found in a first-class vaudeville house and good performances are promised.

¶ The "Flying Squadron," which is the name of the young women's auxiliary to the N. A. A. C. P., is holding a series of private entertainments preparatory to a larger affair in the spring. The first was held at the home of Miss Dora Cole. The Utopia Neighborhood Club of New York, which is a similar organization for aiding and establishing a delinquent home for colored girls, has given a carnival, in which Miss M. G. Allison was captain of the drill.

THE CAPTAIN OF THE DRILL

¶ Francis L. Holmes, the colored jumper of Chicago, competed at the athletic meet held in New York February 22. He may be chosen to make the trip to Stockholm in June.

¶ The fourth annual convention of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity was held at Ann Arbor, Mich. This is a colored Greek-letter fraternity, which has twelve active chapters in the best universities of the country. Charles H. Garvin of Howard was elected president.

POLITICAL.

Great activity has become manifest in Washington to secure the Negro vote. The colored officeholders are engaged in minimizing Mr. Taft's wholesale dismissal of colored officers from the United States service.

Two long conferences with these officeholders have been held at the White House when the proposed Hook appointment and the President's policy in the South were discussed.

¶ The Negroes of Boley, Okla., have formed an Independent Voters' League, and declared they will vote in future regardless of political parties.

¶ A curious story comes from Washington with many earmarks of credibility: The recorder of deeds, H. L. Johnson, was appointed through the influence of Secretary Hitchcock. Secretary Hitchcock is now leaning toward the Roosevelt faction and has broken with Johnson. Johnson hastened to the White House and was received into the Taft camp, and is now promoting the election of Taft delegates in Georgia.

¶ At the Republican dollar dinner held at Wheeling, W. Va., a colored man, Mr. E. J. Graham, Jr., was present and spoke.

¶ Mr. A. P. Prioleau of South Carolina is again contesting the seat of G. S. Legare in the House of Representatives at Washington.

¶ The Democrats of Delaware are vigorously denying that they have been promoting a Negro Democratic Club.

THE GHETTO.

A bill has been presented to the legislature of Virginia to empower and authorize every county and city council in the State to prescribe the bounds for residential purposes of blacks and whites. There are penalties for violation of the law.

¶ The mayor of Cincinnati has closed one of the prosperous colored theatres for reasons not clear to the colored people.

¶ Dr. E. P. Roberts has been made physical examiner in the New York public schools. A few patrons of the school have made a faint protest, which has been ignored.

¶ Ben. Salter, a colored man of Pensacola, Fla., has entered suits for $70,000 damages in the Federal Court at Montgomery against seven prominent white farmers of Crenshaw county, Alabama, alleging that they were members of a mob which, in December, 1910, drove him and his family from their farm in Crenshaw county, burned Salter's dwelling house, destroyed and carried off property to the value of $2,500 and forced Salter to leave the State.

Salter alleges that he was beaten by the mob and taken into custody by the sheriff of the county to save his life, and that after liberation he moved from Alabama to protect his life.

¶ Mrs. Lily Hill, of Washington county, Tenn., has been pardoned by Governor Hooper. She was convicted last October and sentenced to eleven years and twenty-nine days in jail. The pardon record says: "It appears from the statement of the attorney-general that this colored woman is a respectable and well-behaved married woman and had been previously molested by the prosecuting witness in the case, and that she was assaulted by said prosecutor in a public street because she resented his attentions a second time, and, when she was pressed by him, drew a pistol from a handbag and shot him in the arm."

¶ The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad tried to establish a Jim Crow waiting room in Baltimore. The colored people compelled it to give up the project.

¶ A colored attorney of Detroit has presented a protest to Governor Osborn of Michigan against the refusal of the State School at Coldwater to admit colored children. The governor promises to investigate.

EDUCATION.

The Western University for Negroes at Quindaro, Kan., has erected a monument to John Brown at a cost of $2,000. The money was subscribed by colored people throughout the United States in small amounts.

¶ Miss Urnestine Bell, a graduate of the normal department of Atlanta University in the class of 1910, received the highest grade of any teacher, white or colored, in Atlanta, in the examination for teacher's certificate.

¶ Morris Brown College of Atlanta has purchased several hundred acres of land in East Macon, Ga. The whole institution may be moved there.

¶ At Belcher, La., the colored people have donated twelve acres of land as a site for an agricultural school.

¶ Three colored women have been reappointed by Governor Hadley of Missouri as members of the board of managers of the State Industrial School for Negro Girls. The general assembly has appropriated $6,500 for purchasing necessary ground.

¶ The colored schools of Washington sold $137 worth of Red Cross stamps.

¶ At Norfolk, Va., a new colored school building, to contain sixteen rooms and to cost $32,500, has been started. It will seat 800 pupils.

¶ Judge Pritchard and General Julian S. Carr have been speaking in the North in support of the colored religious training school at Durham, N. C.

¶ Faustin S. Delaney, a colored teacher of Louisville, lately deceased, has left $500 to Wilberforce University toward maintaining a chair in the science department.

¶ The Secretary of the Interior, in his annual report, says of Howard University, among other things:

"The science hall is well equipped for efficient work in the several departments of physics, chemistry and biology. The eager response of the student body to the new facilities offered is seen in the fact that more than 600 students are regularly instructed in these several branches, with practical laboratory work offered in each department of study. Instead of one professor and one instructor, who gave their entire time to the sciences, the work now requires three professors, one assistant professor, three regular instructors, and seven student assistants, giving their time to the work of scientific instruction.

"It has been often said that while colored students were proficient in the languages, history, etc., they showed no adaptation to the exact sciences. But the eager response of this great body of colored students to the opportunities here for the first time offered in any large way for advanced laboratory work in the exact sciences, marks an era in the educational life of the Negro race. The possible application of the practical instruction here received must have an important bearing on the future welfare of the race."

¶ New Orleans has raised the wages of her white teachers, but refused to make any change in the salaries of the colored teachers. The average wages in the State before the change were: Whites, $56.16 per month; colored, $29.87.

CHURCH.

St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, the oldest colored Episcopal church in the United States, and one of the oldest churches in the country, is about to sell its Twelfth Street property in Philadelphia, and move nearer the new centers of colored residence.

¶ The Rev. Levi N. Powers, D. D., of Haverhill, Mass., in a recent discussion of lynching, announced that "If a Negro committed an atrocious crime against any member of my family I would go out and help lynch him."

¶ The Methodist Episcopal Church is still discussing the question of erecting its colored membership in a separate and independent body.

¶ Thirty years ago, in the Lancaster hills of Pennsylvania, lived a number of lawless gangs of white and colored desperadoes. The Rev. Melford H. Haggler, a colored preacher, settled among them, and, after years of hard work, has succeeded in transforming the character of the neighborhood.

¶ The Catholics of Atlanta, Ga., have purchased property on which they propose to erect a Negro church. Indignation is expressed by the neighboring white property owners and the bishop is being asked to withdraw.

¶ The committee of the Episcopal council of South Carolina has recommended a Negro suffragan bishop.

ECONOMICS.

The Los Angeles Examiner publishes a letter from a porter, which says that Pullman porters "must furnish the best references, keep neat and clean, be polite, and perform their duties faithfully. They are held strictly responsible for shortage or losses of car equipment, such as blankets, pillows, bed linen, towels, combs, brushes, etc. Every month ninety per cent. of the 7,000 porters have deducted from their wages from twenty-five cents to $1.50. Pullman conductors get from $70 to $90 per month, according to seniority or time they have been in the service; but the porter, who has served from five to forty years, only received $25 per month, until last year, when their salaries were increased ten per cent., making $27.50 now. He gets no credit for seniority, and receives no more pay or consideration than the new man who has only worked a month."

¶ A South American correspondent of the Richmond Planet says: "The Negroes were only freed in Brazil in 1888, and here you can find Negro professors teaching white and black alike. You can find Negroes filling all grades of office in the army and navy; you can find Negroes in all branches of political or public service from the president down to a common soldier or policeman or sailor. You find here the Negroes are captains of ships, pilots, mates, engineers of both ships and trains, conductors, motormen, baggagemasters, machinists and every other thing that they are capable of doing."

¶ The large business interests of Atlanta are securing the enforcement of an obsolete law which taxes peddlers $50 a year. It is driving the small colored peddlers out of business, and they are protesting against it.

¶ The Indianapolis Colored Young Men's Christian Association has purchased a site for its building at a cost of $6,000.

¶ N. E. Barnes, a colored inventor of Willis, Tex., has invented a station indicator and an improved bulletin board for street cars.

¶ Lucian Headen, a colored aviator of New York, has been awarded a gold medal and has patented an equalizer, which prevents airships from tilting when falling.

PERSONAL.

David Hazleton, a veteran porter in the office of the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, has recently died. He entered the service of the railroad in 1874, and for more than thirty years has been in charge of the official cars of the railroad's presidents.

During that time he crossed the continent hundreds of times in charge of special parties and with officials of the railroad. He has ridden over practically every mile of railroad track in North America, from the Isthmus of Panama to the northernmost lines in Canada. He was six feet tall and made a striking appearance in his uniform of royal blue trimmed in gold and cap slightly tilted.

Hazleton had charge of presidential parties from General Grant down to McKinley and Roosevelt. General Grant was numbered as one of his favorite guests. President Cleveland also frequently traveled with him. When he started on his honeymoon he made a special request that Hazleton be placed in charge of his car.

¶ Fred. S. Stone, a colored musician and composer, is dead.

¶ Miss Ida Lee, a colored girl of Kentucky, has received a bequest of $3,000 for saving the life of a wealthy woman in a runaway in 1909.

¶ John Walker, a colored drayman, of Madison, Ga., has a bronze medal and $500 for saving the life of his employers in a runaway.

¶ The census shows that the oldest man in the country is an Indian Negro of Colorado, known as Cherokee Bill. He is reported to be 114 years of age and is worth $80,000.

¶ In the January CRISIS we published the picture of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the "Grand Old Man" of West Africa. Dr. Blyden died February 8 at the age of 79. He had had many honors bestowed upon him. In 1863, after the publication of his work on Liberia, he received the honorary degree of A. M. from Hamilton College. Lafayette College conferred the degree of D. D. upon him in 1870, and in 1874 he was made an LL. D. by Lincoln University. In 1882 he was elected corresponding and honorary member of the Society of Sciences and Letters of Bengal, and he was also a member of the Athenæum Club of London.

¶ The funeral of the late Bishop Gaines was a very elaborate service. There were seven bishops present and many distinguished ministers. He was interred at Atlanta, Ga.

¶ Matthew A. Henson is still lecturing on his trip to the North Pole. He recently appeared before the Negro Society for Historical Research at Yonkers.

MEETINGS.

President John D. Hammond, of Paine College, Augusta, Ga., held a conference on "The Relation of the Negro Problem to the White People in the South."

When it was announced that Dr. Hamill, a Southern white pastor, would succeed the late George W. Walker, also a white man, as head of Payne Institute, for colored youths, in Augusta, Ga., a portion of his congregation at the fashionable McKendree Church, Nashville, Tenn., got up and filed out of the morning service.

¶ Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois has been lecturing in New England before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, the People's Forum of Braintree, and clubs at Newport, Providence and Brockton.

¶ A protest against lynching has been held in Faneuil Hall, Boston. One of the speakers, the Rev. R. C. Ransom,

said: "Negroes themselves are largely to blame for the contempt in which they are held and the impunity with which their liberties and their lives may be invaded. Sheriffs, mayors, courts, governors will not take seriously the interests of a people who have lost or surrendered the right to retaliate or call them to account at the ballot box. Mobs do not quail when there is no fear that their wild brutalities will be answered by a volley of bullets.

"I am unwillingly but slowly coming to the conclusion that the only way for the Negro in particular, and the dark-skinned people in general, to win and hold the respect of white people is to mete out to them a white man's measure in all the relations of life."

ART.

A very successful recital was given in Boston by Clarence Cameron White, violinist, and Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare, pianist. On the program was Bruch's "Concerto in G Minor" and Coleridge Taylor's "African Dance No. 1." Mr. Rowland Hayes sang.

¶ In the month of December the Wellington Musical Union of Australia gave their third subscription concert. The patrons were his excellency, the governor of New Zealand, Lord Islington, and the right honorable, the premier, Sir Joseph G. Ward.

The work performed was Gounod's "Faust" in "oratorio" form. Mr. Hamilton Hodges, baritone, of Auckland New Zealand, sang the part of Mephistopheles. According to the reviewers, "Mr. Hodges was quite the best of the soloists. He gave a fine rendering of the rôle and was effective and convincing."

Mr. Hodges is a colored American, having been born in Boston, Mass. For many years he has made his home in Auckland, New Zealand, where he maintains a studio and engages in concert performances. Upon his return last year from an extended visit to this country, he was warmly welcomed by the audiences, before whom he presented an exacting programme, singing groups of Italian, German, French and English songs. The New Zealand Herald says of this singer: "The programme was one which no vocalist, unless absolutely certain of the fullest possession of his powers, would have had the temerity to present to a critical audience—his singing entirely justified his self-confidence."

¶ A music-study club of Washington, D. C., has been organized. Its membership is composed of musicians who have studied the higher forms of music composition and analysis. Its object is personal development. Mr. Henry L. Grant is the secretary.

¶ On January 26 the Washington Conservatory of Music, Washington, D. C., gave the second of the series of artists' recitals, presenting the new director of the vocal department, Mr. Harry A. Williams, tenor, who was assisted by Mr. Leonard Jeter, violoncellist, and Mr. Henry L. Grant, pianist.

Mr. Williams sang modern songs, including a group of French songs, and one of his own compositions, "If I Were King."

¶ Illness prevented Landon Ronald from conducting the New Symphony Orchestra at their recent concert given at Queen's Hall, London. The conducting was carried out by Sir Edward Elgar and Mr. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the latter directing Haydn symphony in G and the orchestral accompaniment to Saint-Saens' G minor pianoforte concerto.

¶ Mr. S. Coleridge-Taylor has lately been chosen conductor of the Stock Exchange Orchestral Society, and the first concert under his directorship was given December 7 at Queen's Hall.

¶ Mr. Harrison Emanuel, violinist, gave a recital on January 29 at Kimball Hall, Chicago, Ill. He was assisted by Mrs. Marie Burton-Hyram, soprano. Mr. Emanuel presented a very fine programme, which included Wieniawski's Concerto No. 2 and Kreisler's Caprice Viennous.

¶ The Royal College of Music, London, Eng., presented this season a successful and interesting novelty in the form of Mr. Douglas Taylor's orchestral fantasy, "Uncle Remus," which was directed by the composer. "Uncle Remus" stories are based upon traditional Negro folklore, and the mood of the piece shows the suggestion of the subject.

¶ Mr. George Chadwick's new symphonic suite was played on February 2 by Mr. Damrosch's orchestra for the first time in New York. The New York Sun says of the work: "The salient characteristic of the entire composition is the frankness of its melodic style. This suite betrays the awful fact that Mr. Chadwick has been bitten by the Dvorák American music insect. He has not hesitated to write intellectual ragtime, such as the Bohemian put into his American symphony. Nor has the distinguished head of the New England Conservatory shrunk from openly imitating the melodic line of the Negro tunes. On the whole, the composition is well made and well orchestrated."

CRIME.

Since our last record there have been eight lynchings of colored people:

At Hamilton, Ga., three men and a girl were killed for the alleged murder of a white man. The sheriff from whom the prisoners were taken is said to be the uncle of the dead man. One despatch says:

"Hadley was an unmarried planter, and it is said he was infatuated with the girl, Bertha Hathaway. He had been pursuing the girl and had been warned to keep away from her. He disregarded the warning, however, and Sunday afternoon went to the girl's home and tried to get her to come out with him. While Hadley was at the girl's home he was shot, but no one knows by whom. Henry Anderson, one of the Negroes lynched, is said to have wanted to marry the girl, and it is possible that he shot the young planter. The first reports stated that Hadley was killed at his own house, but this was incorrect. The girl was twenty years old."

At Cordele, Ga., a colored man was lynched. He was accused of felonious assault upon a white woman.

In Bessemer, Ala., a colored man, accused of murder, was shot to death by Italians.

In Vidalia, Ga., a colored man was lynched for murder. The lynchers are said to have been Negroes.

In Macon, Ga., a colored man, accused of assaulting and robbing a white woman, was lynched and his body burned.

¶ In Hickman, Ky., the poor whites are determined to run Negro laborers away, while the rich planters are striving to preserve cheap labor. A short time ago two white men tried to kill a Negro, but he succeeded in killing them. Later a group of white men shot two Negro boys, wounding them seriously. There have been no arrests.

¶ Fifteen colored women have been killed in Atlanta during the last year, and the guilty parties have not been found.

¶ A white schoolboy in Indianapolis deliberately shot an eleven-year-old colored boy, who probably will not live.

There is some evidence of renewed effort at Coatesville in ferreting out the lynchers after a period of quiescence. Three accused men are in jail and the attorney-general is asking for a change of venue.

COURTS.

A bill has been introduced into the Maryland Legislature against lynching, with severe penalties.

¶ Harry Foster Dean has been granted a judgment of $300 in his suit against the Chicago & New York Western Railway because he was refused admission to an elevator in the railroad station on account of his color.

¶ The Knights of Pythias of Tennessee have succeeded in getting a final court decision, restraining the colored Knights of Pythias from operating in the State.

¶ The Supreme Court of Louisiana has decided that the Negro has a right to a seat in the portion of a car set aside for white people provided there is no space left in the colored portion of the car. The case was that of Joseph Anderson against the New Orleans Railways & Light Company. Anderson was awarded $250 damages.

¶ A case of the greatest interest, involving the whole question of the color line, is being argued before the South African Appeal Court, consisting of Lord De Villiers, the chief justice, and the four other judges of appeal. The suit is brought by a European landowner, Mr. Moller, living in the Keimoes district, in the northwest of Cape Colony. He recently applied to the Cape Provincial Court for an order compelling the local school authorities to admit his two children to school. The contention is that Mr. Moller's wife is "off-colored," and on this account his children were expelled from school, owing to the objections of the parents of other scholars. The judge in the Cape Provincial Court refused the application. Mr. Moller then appealed to the full bench of the Cape Provincial division, and his appeal was dismissed. The matter now comes before the highest tribunal in the land.

¶ Attorneys Hawkins & McMechen won their first motion against the segregation ordinance of Baltimore when they succeeded in blocking a motion to interfere with a colored church which is on a "white" street.

¶ A banquet was tendered Captain Charles Young as he passed through New York on his way to Liberia. Eighteen men sat at table. The bill of fare was in the form of an army commission and the favors were swords. Among the after-dinner speakers were Bishop Walters, Collector Anderson and the guest of honor. Captain Young will have three commissioned officers under him in Liberia, and will have unusual powers of administration in forming a constabulary.

¶ The Y. W. C. A. of Philadelphia, after increasing its membership to 375 and raising funds sufficient to employ a secretary and pay all expenses for one year, has become a branch of the main association of that city and will be included in the $500,000 building campaign which is to be begun early next fall.

MEN OF THE MONTH

A COMPOSER.

Twice this year a colored composer has led a white orchestra in a prominent New York playhouse. In another land and in another age this would be but

J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON

natural, for J. Rosamond Johnson, notwithstanding his Negro blood, is a composer whose music is known everywhere. "Under the Bamboo Tree," "Lazy Moon," the "Congo Love Song" —all these and many more songs are his. Johnson was born in Jacksonville, Fla., in 1873; studied at the New England Conservatory of Music, and then came to New York. He has developed a new and distinct school of Negro music, has written light opera for Klaw & Erlanger, songs for May Irwin, Lillian Russell and Anna Held, and set Dunbar to rare music. His long partnership with the gifted Bob Cole is well known. All things considered, he stands as the most versatile composer of colored America and one of the striking musical geniuses of the land.

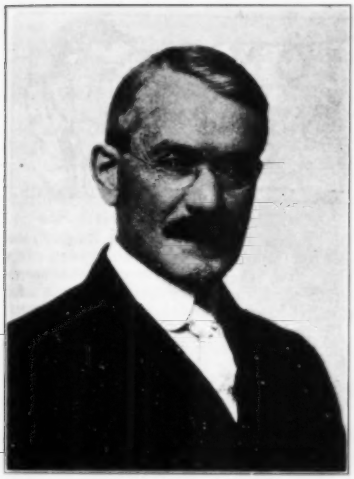
TWO TEACHERS.

We present this month the pictures of two teachers, Harriet E. Clifford and Bessie B. Bruington. The first was white and from Maine, in the extreme East. The second is colored and works in the extreme West, California.

Harriet Clifford was a New England teacher, who gave her life to Negro education in Georgia and died of tuberculosis last summer. She was an accomplished musician, and gave the best years of her life to Atlanta University; not simply as a teacher, but as the friend and companion of her hundreds of pupils.

Miss Bruington is a graduate of the Los Angeles State Normal School. In the examination for teachers she stood seventh in a total of 300 persons examined, and was appointed to teach in the Fifty-first Street public school. Her four fellow teachers are white and her pupils are of both races.

MISS BESSIE B. BRUINGTON



THE LATE DOCTOR SALE

THE LATE BISHOP GAINES

TWO LOST LEADERS.

In the passing of Wesley John Gaines, sixteenth bishop of the African M. E. Church, the Negro race has lost a striking and powerful figure. Bishop Gaines was a blood relative of Robert Toombs and was born in slavery in 1840. He had no opportunity for education, but became a shrewd leader, and latterly the most active constructive force in his church.

In the same city with Bishop Gaines lived for many years Dr. George E. Sale, as president of the Atlanta Baptist College and later as superintendent of Baptist institutions for colored people throughout the South. He was a white Canadian, a friend of both races in the South, and far more successful than is usual in maintaining pleasant and helpful social relations with both. His premature death is a great loss to the statesmanship of the day.

THE LATE MISS CLIFFORD

A PRIZE WINNER.

R. W. Overton, a sixteen-year-old student of the Stuyvesant High School, has recently won the long-distance record for model aeroplanes over twenty competitors from all the high schools of Greater New York and vicinity.

REGINALD W. OVERTON

THE TERRORISTS.

The continued reign of the lynching terror has brought some strong editorials even in the South. The Galveston News says: "Really, the record furnished by the Tribune, noting the number of people murdered and the number of executions, reads like a grim and scandalous joke. There is no other enlightened country in which any such conditions would be deemed tolerable. Our scheme of preserving order and standing up for the law would seem to be based upon a most vicious and insupportable pretense. The record proves that we as a people do not mean what we say; that we do not stand for law and order at all."

The Atlanta Constitution adds: "Almost as if foreseeing the indefensible quadruple lynching near Hamilton, in Harris county, is the following comment from the Macon Telegraph upon the evil eminence occupied by Georgia with respect to mob violence:

"'To Georgia belongs the uenviable distinction of contributing nineteen, or more than one-fourth, of the seventy-one lynchings in 1911. Such, at least, is the showing of the figures collected by the Chicago Tribune, which performs this service every year, and readers of the daily dispatches are at any rate well aware that illegal executions in this State during the past twelve months were shockingly frequent. * * * It is gratifying to know that in spite of the deplorable increase of lynchings in Georgia, there was a considerable falling off in the country as a whole. The total of seventy-one in 1911 was the smallest since the beginning of the record in 1885, in which year there were 184. The largest total was 255 in 1892.'

"The Constitution heartily agrees with the Telegraph that Georgia's record in this connection is 'deplorable.' Especially aggravated is the instance in Harris county. The four Negroes upon whom the mob wreaked its fury had been arrested and held merely as suspects. Proof to convict had not been secured. Judge Price Gilbert, having jurisdiction over the circuit in which the crime was committed, had agreed to hold a special session of court to try the accused. Beyond a doubt the accused would have been given fair trial, and, their guilt even reasonably established, legal execution would quickly have followed.

"Upon top of the statistics indicting Georgia, in face of the grotesque libels placarding this State in the Northern and foreign press, this exhibition of extra-legal vengeance can offer nothing of excuse or palliation. Even the crime that supplied the provocation was of such nature that testimony concerning it could have been presented in open court without embarrassment or censorship.

"Nightmare chapters like the Harris county affair are as so many blots upon the fair name of Georgia. Until they are met by stern rebuke from the controlling sentiment of the State, we shall never rise to that development and that world esteem to which our resources and the innate respect for law of the majority of Georgians entitle us.

"The hands of defense are tied when the wantonness of the deed is itself the accuser."

The Savannah News adds: "For shame, Georgians! This is not the way to treat people who are under our protection. Among the victims were two women, and we cannot be silent in the face of such a tragedy. We cannot escape from the belief that the prompt and vigorous prosecution of all the Harris county murderers would be an incalculable benefit throughout the South."

The Talladega (Ala.) Reporter calls the lynching at Bessemer: "A disgrace to the State, and another evidence that human life is too cheap, and that people must be taught that the penalty of murder is death. The State and country must arise in their might and put down such crimes, if it takes hanging to do it."

The Wilmington (Del.) News declares that: "It is no worse for a Negro to force his attentions upon a white girl than it is for a white man to force his attentions upon a Negro girl. There are good Negro girls as well as good white girls. Every girl, no matter what may be her color or social standing, is the proper ward of all good men. There was no warrant whatever for a Negro to shoot and kill the 'very popular'

farmer. That offence was murder. There was no warrant for lynching the three Negro men and the Negro girl. That crime was murder, emphasized at this time in view of the allegation that at least three of the party were innocent."

Northern papers are represented by the Philadelphia Public Ledger, which says concerning Coatesville: "Despite the utmost endeavors of the authorities, the previous trials have been without effect, and the present step is an earnest effort by the prosecution to avail itself of the last chance to do justice. It is to be hoped that the Supreme Court will grant the petition and that the cases will be pushed with promptitude and vigor. It is quite futile for the white population of the North to preach doctrines founded on morality and the necessity for conserving law and order to Negroes just 'up from slavery' when at the same time the very heart of civilization displays a savagery that would disgrace Dahomey.

* * * * *

"It is all very well for Americans to express horror at Russian brutality and barbarity, to evince amazement and disgust with Santo Dominican or Haitien cruelty and bloodthirstiness, or to pretend that America has reached a plane so high that it may arrogate to itself a proud eminence in civilization; but that is all vain glory as long as Americans permit shocking acts of savagery, such as the Coatesville burning and the Baltimore lynching."

A new suggestion comes from a correspondent in the Weekly Witness: "Since President Taft has shown such a disposition to reform public evils, I would suggest to him that he send a message to Congress recommending that a law be enacted that a sum of money, ranging from $5,000 up to $15,000, be paid to the heirs of each and every person who has been lynched by a mob, the amount to be regulated according to the guiltiness or innocence of the person lynched; this money to be paid at once by the Federal government, which shall collect it from the State in which the crime was perpetrated. The State is then to collect the sum from the local municipality or from each and every individual member of the guilty mob."

The New York Sun comments characteristically on the "Referendum in Western Georgia": "According to the Sun's despatches from the scene of this notable referendum, at least two and probably three of the persons so neatly suspended and leaded were innocent; there is 'no convincing evidence' against the fourth.

"Aside from cold considerations of evidence, how much more piquant and enjoyable participation in such a referendum must be than in a stupid case, where the criminal is caught in the act and no demand is made upon the imagination of the referees. How can the referees be induced to take part in the hemp referendum if it is not made attractive?"

Some Southern papers, however, draw other lessons. The Chattanooga Times, for instance: "The attention of colored leaders and educators is called to the story from Cordele, Ga., reciting the fiendish act of one of their race toward an unprotected white lady. We know what the white people are going to do about it if they catch the offender, but what are the Negro leaders and teachers going to do about it? It is about time they were giving this question profound consideration. The whites have obviously made up their minds as to what they will do in all such cases."

The Southwestern Christian Advocate, a colored paper, writes: "If the Southern white youth is not lawless, it will not be because they have not had sufficient encouragement to be. There are open examples on every hand that make for disrespect of law and order and the demoralization of the youth of the South.

"Recently we were on a train which was headed for the city of New Orleans. We boarded it about 2 a. m. In the car allotted to the colored people was a young white lad, not more than ten or twelve years of age. It was an open violation of the law, to start with, for him to be in this part of the train. But what difference did it make? Law was not made for him, and he was learning the lesson. This lad had a cap pistol and was bursting caps every now and then, saying very audibly: 'I got him, I got him, I shot a Nigger in the head.' He would then load up his toy gun and fire away again at some supposed black man, who had not wronged him in the least, and repeat again: 'I got him, I got him, I shot a Nigger in the head.' It turned out to be that this lad was the son of the conductor. As soon as he had a chance, the conductor, who was the custodian of the law, came into the colored compartment, took a seat and deliberately began to smoke a cigar. In the coach there were colored women, neatly attired, calm in their demeanor, evidently women who had come out of good homes. What did this conductor care? Was he not of a superior race, superior to law, superior to decent treatment of a humble folk?"

A Southern white woman writes in a Southern Georgia paper, the Advocate: "Deeper than physical fear must the blow be struck. Look at the hordes of mulatto children swarming in the cities, the towns and even the country, and say how far is the white man responsible for conditions. If he stoops to the black man's

woman, what then when the black man dares to lift lustful eyes to the white man's woman? Can the Anglo-Saxon exterminate the children of his own blood, half-breed though they be?

"'Let him who is without a blemish cast the first stone.'"

Here is a new note in a Negro paper, which perhaps answers the Southern lady: "It seems that a few weeks ago several white apple peddlers visited Boley, Okla., and remained over night. One of the white men made himself very friendly and familiar after nightfall with several of Boley's Negro citizens, and finally suggested that a colored girl be brought to entertain him. He was promptly knocked down by the Negro young men and thoroughly thrashed. He ran from Boley and took refuge at Okemah, a white town nearby. He got sympathy by telling the officers he had been beaten and robbed by Negroes at Boley. The white officers went to arrest the Boleyites and their treatment was magnified by the Okemah Ledger, a white journal, into a race riot."

The colored paper, the Boley Progress, says: "Any white gentleman who comes to Boley will be given courteous treatment, whether he comes on business or sightseeing.

"The citizens of Boley realize that the white people of the country have helped them and are yet helping them, and we are not ingrates, neither are we all criminals, but we are not fools.

"The low-down, insignificant night-riding jackasses, who seem to be a cross between a hyena and a coyote, and who would lynch a Negro man in the daytime and would hunt for Negro women at night, might as well understand that Boley doesn't give a corrugated whoop in hell for their presence, and this atmosphere won't produce the woman they are looking for."

¶ The following communication may be a joke, but it is a grim one:

"Whereas, the United States of America is the only country in which human beings are burned at the stake;

"And, whereas, the President of the United States has thus far declined to use, in any way, the influence and power of his great office to suppress this horrible practice of primitive barbarism and savagery:

"Be it, therefore, resolved, that the Cosmopolitan Society of America petition, and it hereby does petition, His Imperial Majesty, the Czar of Russia, the organizer of the Hague Peace Conference, to use his good offices with the government at Washington, to urge upon the President and the Congress the human necessity of discouraging and suppressing, if need be, by federal legislation, the burning of men, women and children at the stake.

"And be it further resolved, that this resolution be forwarded to the Russian Ambassador at Washington, and that a copy thereof be furnished the Associated Press."

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT.

Some interesting side lights on democracy in the South have come to hand. The New-Orleans Picayune publishes this broadside to reassure its supporters in a factional fight:

WHITE Voters Will Be Guaranteed Full Rights in the Primaries

Law Intended to Give FRANCHISE to EVERY WHITE MAN in the State

THE GOVERNOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

"New Orleans, La., Jan. 20, 1912.

"As there is a conflict between the attorney-general of the State and the district attorney of the Parish of Orleans as to the law on the question of the right of voters to call for assistance in fixing their ballot, I desire to announce that, as governor of the State, I concur in the opinion of the attorney-general.

"I know that the purpose of the registration sections of the constitution is to give the right of franchise to all white men in the State.

"I know that the intention of the primary election law is to allow any white man to call for assistance if he desires same.

"The general election law provides an emblem for the voter; the primary law provides none; the general election law provides that only those suffering from physical disability can ask for assistance; the primary election law specially omitted the words 'Physical Disability,' and permits any voter, whether registered under the educational qualification or otherwise, to call for assistance, if he states that he is unable to fix his ballot. The voter is the sole judge of his ability to fix his ballot."

The Augusta Chronicle, in a similar factional fight, makes this unbelievable accusation against white voters:

"That hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars are being put up, by somebody, to pay the taxes of a certain element of voters in this community, for the purpose of voting them against commission government, is being daily demonstrated.

"It is being done so openly that any citizen may drop in at the court house and witness it for himself at any hour of the day. The 'heelers' are there with the money, and the taxes are being paid openly—shamelessly.

"Now, the question naturally arises, who is so interested in the defeat of commission government as to put up all this money—and why?"

The Times-Despatch of Richmond, Va., completes this picture by showing the beneficent effect of disfranchisement on colored people:

"That the city council has not dealt fairly with the Negro since his elimination from politics was tacitly admitted by a special council committee last night, when it began a general discussion of the housing problems of the Negro race, in their bearing, not only on health and morality, but their effect on the city generally.

"The special committee was appointed as a result of the passage last year of the segregation ordinance—an effort on the part of the council to prevent Negroes from encroaching on Clay Street.

"Twenty or more of the representative leaders of the Negro race appeared before the committee last night showing, that while annexations have been made in all directions, and large sections improved for the homes of white people, there has been no addition to the Negro quarter of the city in a generation; that rows of houses have been standing in the city limits for forty years without water or sewerage; that there is neither curbing, paving nor street cleaning through the poorer sections; that contaminated wells are used by hundreds of families who are unable to secure city water, both because of the unwillingness of the city to extend its mains and because of the conduct of property owners and agents, who, even where such mains are provided, will not supply plumbing for their properties until compelled to do so by the Board of Health."

The Houston (Tex.) Post adds an illuminating word to this symposium, in a reference to President Taft's recent remark: "In Texas we used to have liberal election laws, and the elections were participated in by most of the potential voters. It is not the case now. The poll-tax qualification, which was adopted principally to suppress the Negro vote, has had the effect of barring two white men to every Negro delinquent. There are men in Texas at the present time seeking a further suppression of the voters. As the poll-tax qualification bars most of the Negroes, these additional 'safeguards' are intended to take the ballot away from white men."

HECKLING THE HECKLERS.

The president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is timid on the Negro problem and thinks Negroes oppose woman's suffrage. Celia Parker Woolsey answers her in the Public: "We are told that 'all Negroes are opposed to woman suffrage,' an astonishing statement, which will not bear examination. I have worked with and among colored people for many years. In the institution with which I am connected, the Frederick Douglass Center, the subject of woman suffrage is a familiar and welcome theme. Suffrage meetings have been held in our assembly room, where the subject was discussed by white and black. I have yet to hear a serious argument on the negative side from a colored speaker.

"The feeling of the most thoughtful Negroes on this subject is one that does equal credit to heart and understanding. 'I know what disfranchisement means,' said one of these in my hearing. 'I have suffered from it, my race suffers from it still. I should be ashamed to impose such a wrong on any other class.' Compare this to the rallying cry, 'Do not touch the Negro problem!'

"It may be well in this connection to tell the story of one of Miss Anthony's very early visits to Chicago, her first, I believe. She had come in the hope of securing a chance to speak her gospel word. Church after church was solicited from the white clergy and invariably refused. It so happened that the friend with whom Miss Anthony was stopping lived near the color district and was on friendly terms with her dusky-skinned neighbors. She called on the pastor of Quinn Chapel, the oldest and largest colored church in the city, whose use was promptly granted. Thus, it was from a colored pulpit, and in the main to a colored audience, that our Susan addressed her first argument in the city of the lakes.

"Woman suffrage has no more loyal friend than Frederick Douglass. Doubtless he injured himself in many more cautious minds by thus openly allying himself with a cause which was in those days far more unpopular than the black man's. Did anyone say to him, 'Let the woman question alone?' One can easily imagine the reply he would have made, he who said: 'I know no race problem; there is a human problem.' His last public act was to attend a meeting of the National Association, where Miss Anthony spoke words of gratitude and praise to him, pinning a flower in his buttonhole. He went to his home, and an hour later was dead."

This reminds us of a little correspondence of our own, which we subjoin:

"Chairman, Resolutions Committee,
"National American Woman Suffrage Association,
"Louisville, Kentucky.

"Will you submit the following resolution to the convention for consideration:

"Resolved, that the women who are trying to lift themselves out of the class of the disfranchised, the class of the insane and criminal, express their sympathy with the black men and women who are fighting the same battle and recognize that it is as unjust and as undemocratic to disfranchise human beings on the ground of color as on the ground of sex.

"(Signed) MARTHA GRUENING."

"My dear Dr. Du Bois:

"I am requested to convey to you a message that in the opinion of the majority of the resolutions committee at the recent convention of our association in Louisville, it was not deemed advisable to include the resolution presented by your association among those to be presented to the convention.

"Yours very truly,
"(Signed) MARY WARE DENNETT,
"Corresponding Secretary."

A prominent suffragist adds:

"I cannot let the occasion go by without at least giving myself the satisfaction of saying how very much I regret the action of the resolutions committee and that I am especially sorry that the matter did not come up at all so that any one outside the resolutions committee could even express an opinion on the subject while the convention was in session. I earnestly hope that a similar resolution will be presented at next year's convention, and that those of us who care about the subject can have the privilege of doing our best to put it through."

"A STRANGER AND YE TOOK ME NOT IN."

The Literary Digest gives much space in its columns to a quotation from "A Black Man's Appeal to His White Brothers," by Dr. R. S. Lovingood, president of Samuel Houston College, at Austin, Tex. He writes:

"I was in a Northern city recently. I was a stranger. I was hungry. There was food, food on every hand. I had money, and finally I was compelled to feast on a box of crackers and a piece of cheese. I did not ask to eat with the white people, but I did ask to eat.

"I was traveling. I got off at a station almost starved. I begged the keeper of a restaurant to sell me a lunch in a paper and hand it out of the window. He refused, and I was compelled to ride a hundred miles farther before I could get a sandwich.

"I was in a white church on official business. It was a cold, blowing day, raining, sleeting, freezing. Warm lunch was served in the basement to my white brothers. I could not sit in the corner of that church and eat a sandwich. I had to go nearly two miles in the howling winds and sleet to get a lunch.

"I have seen in the South white and black workingmen elbowing each other, eating their lunches at noon and smoking the pipe of peace. Worldly men give me a welcome in their stores. The Government post office serves me without discrimination. But not so in that church run in the name of Jesus.

"I could not help but feel that Jesus, too, like me, an unwelcome visitor, was shivering in the cold, and could not find a place in that inn, and was saying: 'I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat. I was thirsty and you gave me no drink.' For Jesus was not an Anglo-Saxon.

"I went to a station to purchase my ticket. I was there thirty minutes before the ticket office was opened. When the ticket office opened I at once appeared at the window. While the agent served the white people at the other side I remained there beating the window until the train pulled out. I was compelled to jump on the train without my ticket and wire back to have my trunk expressed to me. Considering the temper of the people, the separate-coach law may be the wisest plan for the conditions in the South, but the statement of 'equal accommodations' is all bosh and twaddle. I pay the same money, but I cannot have a chair car, or lavatory, and rarely a through car. I must crawl out all through the night in all kinds of weather and catche another dirty 'Jim Crow' coach. This is not a request to ride with white people. It is a request for justice, for 'equal accommodations' for the same money. I made an attempt to purchase some cheap land in a frontier section. The agent told me that the settlers, most of whom were Northerners, would not tolerate a Negro in that section. So I could not purchase it. I protest.

"I rode through a small town in Southern Illinois. When the train stopped I went to the car steps to take a view of the country. This is what greeted me: 'Look here, darkey, don't get off at this station.' I put my head out of the window at a certain small village in Texas, whose reputation was well known to me. This greeted me: 'Take your head back, nigger, or we will knock it off.'"

DIVINE RIGHT.

WE would like to know what rights the white people of this land are going to be able to retain? Step by step their dearest and most cherished prerogatives are being invaded, and THE CRISIS wants to say right here and now that it does not countenance oppression of the downtrodden whites by arrogant black folk. A few years ago the right to kick a darky off the sidewalk was unquestioned in the most devout circles, and yet to-day they actually complain at being called by their front names.

Everybody knows that for three hundred years the most jealously guarded right of white men in this land and others has been the right to seduce black women without legal, social or moral penalty. Many white mothers and daughters of the best families have helped to maintain this ancient and honored custom by loading the victims of their fathers' and husbands' lust with every epithet of insult and degradation. Thus has the sweet cleanness of their own race virtue shone holier and higher.

Yet what do we see to-day? The black husbands and brothers are beginning to revolt. In three separate cases, in three consecutive months and in three localities of the southern South have these blind and ignorant fellows actually killed white men who were demanding these ancient rights, and have compelled the chivalry of the land to rise and lynch the black defenders of defenceless virtue; also two strangely illogical black women have been simultaneously killed and a dark and whimpering little girl burned to a quivering crisp.

What does all this mean? Does it portend an unthinkable time when the white man can only get his rights by lynching impudent black husbands and squeamish sweethearts? If so, then, by the Great Jehovah, we can depend on the best friends of the Negro to vindicate the ancient liberties of this land! Anglo-Saxon freedom seems safe at least in the hands of most leaders of Southern society, not to mention the blue blood of Pennsylvania.

Meantime, dear colored brethren, we confess to the error of our ways. We have steadfastly opposed lynching on all occasions, but the South is converting us. We acknowledge our fault. Hereafter we humbly pray that every man, black or white, who is anxious to defend women, will be willing to be lynched for his faith. Let black men especially kill lecherous white invaders of their homes and then take their lynching gladly like men.

It's worth it!

OPTIMIST AND PESSIMIST.

FEW people from without understand the inner currents of the darker world. Should they be told our "optimists" are largely pessimists, while our "pessimists" are optimists, many would be mystified. Yet this is true. There is a large class of professional colored optimists. They are not optimists because they believe

> "—— God's in His heaven,
> All's right with the world."

On the contrary, believing that the battle for Negro manhood in the United States is practically lost, they are whispering *"Sauve qui peut"* and "Spoil the Egyptians," and other

The Drama in Colored America:

1. Atlanta University Students in "Twelfth Night"

phrases indicative of the fact that, not being able to win the greater battle, they are going to get what they can out of the defeat. Among the accessible remains are charity and offices. To get charity and offices the influence of white folks is necessary. This influence can best be gained by a cheerful, sunny attitude. It is, therefore, common among us to see a man who has not the slightest faith in the white race, or in the eventual triumph of justice among men, turn from his frank counsels of despair made to us to "Good-morning, sir! Yes, sir; all is well! If we folks do our duty, sir, we know you'll do yours, sir! Thank you, sir," and he pockets his substantial check, remarking, "Optimism pays!"

On the other hand, there is the colored pessimist. He is in reality no pessimist at all. He is an optimist. He believes in men, white and black. He believes in justice. He says firmly: "The world that has conquered slavery and despotism can conquer war and race prejudice." He insists that the key to this victory is the Truth. He, therefore, insists on the Truth, that the Truth may make us free. He finds himself greeted by frowns and shrugs. His hearers are made uncomfortable by lynching statistics and figures; they shrink at the burden black folk bear; they wince at accusations of prejudice and injustice, and when at last he demands not alms but a friend, they shriek, "Social equality," and scamper away, warning the world against this anarchistic pessimist. But he's no pessimist. He is so optimistic that he even believes in these runaways and runs after them with the Truth.

LEE.

IN a recent review of Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's life of Robert E. Lee in the New York Times we find the following sentence: "Of all the figures in history, it is he (Lee) who most nearly approaches Washington; in fact, there is little or nothing to choose between them except the fact that Lee failed."

This statement is worth noting because it expresses a sentiment not uncommon to-day. Here are two generals, both well born, scrupulously honorable, brave and efficient. The only difference between them is that one was victorious, while the other was obliged in the end to surrender. One won, the other lost; that is all.

In Memorial Hall, at Harvard University, are the names of the college graduates who fell in battle for the cause of the Union. Again and again has come the demand that with these names there be placed the names of the graduates who fell defending the Confederacy. Both were brave youths, the argument goes, both fought unselfishly. Why not give honor to both, since they only differed in that one lost and the other won in battle?

Now, what is the significance of this doctrine which many Americans believe should be preached in literature and history and on the walls of a noble building erected in memory of the heroic dead? This, that if the youths who go forth into the world, fight honorably; if they bear defeat bravely, *it makes no difference what side they take in the battle.* They may fight for the right of the individual to control the natural resources of the earth, to destroy the forests, to impoverish the land, or they may fight for the conservation of such resources; no matter, so that they fight well. Like Washington, their choice may be to lead the army of republicanism, or like Lee, they may choose to lead the aristocracy to battle for the right of one man to hold another as his chattel; the wisdom of their choice is of no importance; "there is little or nothing to choose between the two;" both are singularly alike, both are worthy of equal praise.

At this time of year, when we celebrate the birthdays of our two most famous Americans, let us denounce this philosophy in no uncertain terms. The choice that a man makes is his life. The present crisis faces every youthful spirit, and life for him is a

failure or a success as he chooses "the good or evil side;" the side of spiritual, human progress, or the side of material, brutal enslavement. No sentiment can keep alive for long the names of those, however honorable, who chose to fight with the forces of darkness. If they live, they live in opprobrium. Washington lives and Lincoln lives because each, at the crisis of his life, chose the side of progress and civilization. Lincoln saw the "irrepressible conflict" and stood for freedom; otherwise he would be as great a nonentity as his rival, Stephen A. Douglas. Washington lives because he believed that taxation without representation was tyranny; otherwise he would have been forgotten like—but who remembers the name of one of the gentlemen who drew their swords for King George?

HOMES.

THE injustice toward colored people who want decent living conditions is almost unbelievable unless one comes face to face with the facts. The New York Times, which spares few opportunities to treat black folk unjustly, says in an editorial:

"It is becoming necessary in the upper resident part of New York for the property owners in neighborhoods to enter into agreements to prohibit the occupancy of their dwellings by Negroes. This departure is not due to race prejudice or hatred for the Negro but for the protection of the neighborhood values against designing or ugly white men."

Not a word for the colored family seeking a decent home; but if that family live in the slums and purlieus and let the surroundings teach their children crime and prostitution, then the holy horror of the Times and its ilk! If black folk rush for decent homes at exorbitant rents is there sense or decency in trying to stop this by frantic appeals to race prejudice? In other and perfectly parallel cases the property owner suffers the inevitable without thought of appeal to human hatred. If property in Fifth Avenue becomes more valuable for business than for dwellings then the dwellings must go. If people indulge in senseless prejudice against their

A NEGRO HOME IN TEXAS

fellows and find real-estate men coining this prejudice into gold, they have no right to blame the unhappy victims of their barbarism, but they must blame that barbarism misnamed race pride.

A SOUTHERN NORTHERNER.

My Dear Sir:

I HAVE read carefully the clipping that you have sent me dealing with the assault upon a white woman by a Negro. It is needless to say that every normal human being who reads of such an atrocious crime must cry out in horror and condemn the crime in unmeasured terms. The black criminal who commits a crime of this kind is doubly a criminal in that he not only injures his victims but his entire race. Unlike a white man, a Negro's sins are ascribed to his race, and are said to be characteristic of his race. We have frequent cases of rape by white men to deal with in New York City and in our Northern rural communities, but somehow or other we seldom hear them spoken of as white fiends, nor has it ever been found necessary to resort to lynching as a cure for these fiends. With all respect for your point of view as a Northern man resident in the South, and your belief that unless "the fear of lynching is held before these black fiends" such crimes "would be repeated constantly in the South," we cannot believe that mob murder is a remedy for anything or even a deterrent. Lately they have even been lynching colored women in the South—in Georgia, in Oklahoma, in Tennessee—yet bestial crimes such as you describe and such as has recently happened at Cordele, Ga., take place. Does lynching ever act as a deterrent against crime, whether the criminal be black or white, or does it help criminals to control their animal passions? A few years ago I spent some time in a county in Alabama which had had a record for lynching, beginning with a burning. The white sheriff himself told me how, afterwards, the lynchings got so frequent on any excuse that he found it necessary to send to the chain gang a number of white men who were thus dealing out "justice" to the Negro. The Spanish Inquisition went our American lynchings one better. They inflicted more tortures than even our American mobs; but was it successful in stopping what the Church of Rome deems heresy? If you have studied the history of England you will know that at the very time the severest punishments were in vogue there was more crime than at any other period in its history.

The simple fact remains that lynching cures nothing, and does incalculable harm because it makes a murderer of every man participating in the mob and starts the blood lust agoing in the heart of every person who participates in the crime or watches it. This may be a subconscious influence, but it is there none the less, and I would call your attention to the fact that nowhere else in the world is this procedure tolerated save in this so-called Christian and civilized country, although the crime of rape is known in every country and in every age.

You speak of the Negro as being lazy, careless, indifferent, shiftless and given to theft; now if this is the case, after fifty years of management of the blacks in the South by the white people, would it not seem to be worth while to ask, in a purely scientific spirit, if the policy in vogue which has produced these results ought not to be changed for one which would recognize the self-respect of the colored people and grant them greater social, industrial and political freedom than they now enjoy? It is easy to say that the Negro has failed in the South since emancipation, but is it not time to ask whether the white masters of his destiny have not also failed?

We would not have you misunderstand our position. We have the greatest sympathy for both whites and blacks in the difficult and trying position in which they find themselves. Our realization of that has created our association, which desires to help one race quite as much as the other.

Very truly,

(Signed) OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

The fourth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held in Chicago, beginning April 28 and continuing three days. This was determined at a meeting held at Hull House on January 15, at which time a committee on organization was formed, with Mr. Robert McMurdy as chairman. At a subsequent meeting held at Hull House on January 27, the committee on organization adopted the following plan of arrangement:

The conference shall be in charge of a general committee, to which all other committees shall report; to consist of the chairmen of all other committees; to have power to add to its membership. Such committee shall co-operate with the National Association.

The honorary chairman of the general committee shall be Miss Jane Addams. The active chairman of the general committee shall be selected by the committee from its own membership, or otherwise. The secretary of the general committee may be a paid officer.

Headquarters shall be provided in the Loop.

There shall be a finance committee, chairman not named; a press committee, chairman, Mr. Charles T. Hallinan; reception committee, chairman, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett; committee on halls and speakers, chairman, Dr. Charles E. Bentley; entertainment committee, chairman, Miss S. P. Breckenridge; advisory committee, chairman, Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley.

The secretary and treasurer shall be Mr. T. W. Allinson.

With present information, Sunday, April 28, is recommended as the opening day of the assembly, provided that the speakers can be secured on the basis of that date. Sunday evening is recommended for the opening event, and it is further recommended that, as far as it can be brought about, all the pulpits of Chicago on that day take up the subject of lynching; also, to that end, that a pamphlet on the subject be issued by the association to be used by the ministers in preparing their sermons.

The impetus to the Chicago conference was given by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, who spent January 11 in that city. Mr. Villard was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Mr. Julius Rosenwald and Miss Jane Addams, and attended by many prominent publicists and educators. The City Club of Chicago entertained him at dinner, and he was the principal speaker at a meeting held in the interests of the National Association in Handel Hall.

Commenting on Mr. Villard's "sincere and powerful addresses" at these meetings, the Chicago Herald said in part:

"To hear Mr. Villard was to sympathize with him and indorse his position fully. The association stands primarily for truth and knowledge, for simple justice to the colored population, for defense to the protection against lynching and outrage. The association renders legal aid to poor or threatened Negroes; it investigates and gives the public the real facts in cases of actual or supposed Negro crime; it enforces the law or sees that the authorities enforce it.

"There is not a city of any size in the country which does not need a branch of this association. The branches should have their legal-aid features and should be liberally supported by men and women who really believe in the principles of the American Republic. It cannot be doubted that such activities and education as the association is carrying on will in the course of time change the whole atmosphere in the communities where the Negro cannot obtain elementary justice or due process of law."

¶ At a public meeting in Boston, on February 8, addressed by Prof. Spingarn of New York, Mr. Moorfield Storey presiding, there was formed a branch of the National Association, with the following officers:

President, Mr. Francis J. Garrison; secretary, Mr. Butler R. Wilson; treasurer, Mr. George G. Garrison; members of the executive committee, Miss Maria L. Baldwin, Dr. Horace Bumstead, Mr. Joseph P. Loud, Mrs. Joseph P. Loud, Miss Adelene Moffat, Mr. Clement G. Morgan.

The Boston branch adopted a constitution, endorsed by the National Association, which should stand as a model

for other branches and which may be obtained by application at the New York office.

¶ Mr. William Pickens, professor of Latin at Talladega College, and a member of the advisory board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave an admirable talk in New York at Bethel Church, on Sunday afternoon, January 14.

¶ On Lincoln's Birthday the New York branch held a meeting at St. James' Presbyterian Church. Among the speakers were Judge Robert H. Terrell of Washington, Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott of the Ethical Culture School, New York, and many prominent colored men of New York. The subject discussed was "The Problem of Race Prejudice and How to Combat It." Prof. Spingarn presided.

¶ The N. A. A. C. P. and the New York branch have now a flying squadron, a band of young women who have organized to help the work in New York and to help it quickly. The colored churches and societies of Greater New York are divided among them and can be swiftly circularized. Three of the members do circularizing in New Jersey. The members of the flying squadron usher at meetings, and they are now making plans for a benefit performance to be given in April. Each of the twenty members of the squadron is a "captain" and is gathering about her a group to aid in the work. The executive head is Miss Dora Cole, and the secretary Miss Lurline Saunders.

¶ The last piece of association news is one of the pleasantest and most encouraging THE CRISIS has ever had to recount. For some time it has been apparent that if the association was to do far-reaching constructive work, if it hoped to attack the larger phases of segregation, lawlessness or disfranchisement, it must have a fund at its disposal. Such a fund should be called a fund for legal redress and its money should be appropriated under the direction of the board of directors and the association's attorney. Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, started this fund on February 1 by a gift of $2,000. Shortly afterward, Mr. Samuel Fels, of Philadelphia, augmented it by a gift of $500. This splendid beginning will make it possible for the association during the coming year to carry on a much greater mass of important work than before, always providing that it increases steadily in members.

Forty-one persons joined the association in January, 1912, paying $161 in memberships.

¶ The secretary of the association spoke in Detroit on January 18 before what it is hoped will soon be a new branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Her audience consisted of a group of twenty-five colored men, who have formed themselves into a vigilance committee and are combating with marked success the discrimination which has crept into their city. Detroit has always stood for justice and liberality to the Negro, but recently the caste feeling that manifests itself in annoying ways in the Northern cities has attempted to get a foothold in Detroit. The Detroit Negroes, however, have taken this at the beginning and have stopped discrimination on excursion boats, in parks, at moving-picture shows, soda-water fountains and restaurants. In this they have been aided by some of the best white lawyers in the city and by a strong civil-rights law upon the statute books. The wisdom displayed by the Detroit colored men in attacking race prejudice at its beginning cannot be too much commended.

¶ Throughout the country colored men and colored organizations have been active in protesting against the appointment of Judge Hook to the Supreme Court of the United States. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its membership, sent nearly a hundred letters of protest to the President, and on February 6, by order of its board of directors, dispatched the following night telegram:

"To the President of the United States:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People respectfully protests against the elevation of Judge William C. Hook to the Supreme Court bench.

"We base our protest on his concurrence, without expressed opinion of his own, in the case of McCabe vs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, 186 Fed., 966; not alone because that decision gave the sanction of law to a dreadful injustice to colored citizens, but because it did not deal with the principles involved in this decision with the constructive grasp which we have a right to expect from a judge of first rank.

"The opinion did not work out any principle of constitutional law, but, on the contrary, established a precedent not only unjust and at variance with the law of the land, but one lacking in the principle of humanity.'

In reply to this telegram, the following letter was received at the office of the association:

"To Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard.

"My Dear Sir:

"The telegram of February 6, signed by you and other members of the National Association for the Advance-

ment of Colored People, protesting against the appointment of Judge Hook to the United States Supreme Court, has been received and promptly brought to the attention of the President.

"Very truly yours,

"CHARLES D. HILLES,

"Secretary to the President."

On February 8 the press announced the withdrawal of Judge Hook's name, owing to the opposition on the part of the colored citizens of the United States.

¶ On January 23 the vigilance committee of the New York branch won an important victory in the conviction of Harry A. Levy, assistant treasurer of the Lyric Theatre, for refusing on October 13, 1911, to permit a colored man, Louis F. Baldwin, and his companion to occupy orchestra seats.

The case was a criminal one and was decided by three judges of the Court of Special Sessions. Baldwin's testimony showed that he had purchased two orchestra tickets and, then, on the night of the performance, entered the theatre accompanied by a colored woman and was turned back by the usher to whom he showed his seat stubs. This usher directed him to the box office. At the box office Baldwin found Levy, who told him that it was not the custom of the house to allow colored persons to sit in the orchestra, but that he could give him front-row balcony seats, or would return his money. Baldwin refused both offers and left the theatre.

The young woman who accompanied Baldwin, gave corroborative testimony.

Levy and several of the employees of the house, including the manager, denied that there was any rule prohibiting Negroes from sitting in any part of the house. "Have you ever refused any person admission to your theatre for the reason of color?" the manager was finally asked.

"No, sir," was the answer.

At this point the prosecution called Prof. Spingarn, but some legal question was raised and he was barred as a witness in the case. The defendant having been proved guilty, the prosecution again asked that Prof. Spingarn be permitted to make a statement. This was granted, and Prof. Spingarn told how, several weeks after Mr. Baldwin's experience, having a desire to test the truth of it, he had gone personally to the Lyric Theatre and asked for two orchestra seats, mentioning to the man in the box office that he desired to bring a colored man with him and hoped that no objection would be made.

"'I am sorry,' the man in the box office said to me," Prof. Spingarn concluded, "'but I cannot give you orchestra seats then. We do not permit Negroes to sit in the orchestra.'"

The sentence imposed was a fine of $50.

The success of the Baldwin case was primarily due to the energy and persistence of Mr. Gilchrist Stewart, chairman of the New York Vigilance Committee, who first called it to the attention of the District Attorney, and carried on the work despite many delays and disappointments. Credit is also due to Mr. Charles H. Studin, whose legal services, gratuitously given, were all the more valuable because of his former experience in the District Attorney's office. District-Attorney Whitman took a personal interest in the case, which was ably conducted by two of his assistants, Mr. MacDougal in the Magistrate's Court and Mr. James Smith in the Court of Special Sessions.

A Federal Remedy for Lynching

By the Honorable ALBERT E. PILLSBURY, formerly Attorney-General of the State of Massachusetts

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Has the United States power to protect the lives of its citizens, or the lives of resident aliens to whom it owes protection, against mob violence within the States, if the States fail to protect them?

Probably a majority of public men and constitutional lawyers, "under prepossession of some abstract theory of the relations between the State and national governments," as Mr. Justice Bradley once said in the Supreme Court,[1] will incline to answer this question offhand in the negative.

An offhand answer is not enough. The progress of mob law in many of the States invites, if it does not compel, a serious inquiry into the constitutional question of federal power to put an end to it. This is not a sectional question, nor is it to be approached in a narrow or sectional spirit. The fact that the victims of lynching are usually of the colored race does not limit the importance or the object of the inquiry. It is not a race question, but one which affects the integrity of the government. Lynch law is actual and concrete anarchy; the one complete form in which anarchism appears in our midst. The United States cannot afford to tolerate it within the national domain if the power of preven-

[1] *Ex parte* Siebold, 100 U. S. 371, 383.

tion exists. It is idle to denounce anarchism in the abstract, or to punish by special laws the killing of Presidents or other officers of government by anarchists, in a community where there is no system of laws adequate to protect the life of any and every person against mob violence.

The demoralizing effect of lynching upon the public moral sense is enough to compel attention to the subject, if there were no other reason for it. The practice is steadily increasing, by methods of progressive barbarity. When Hose was burned at the stake in Newman some ten years ago, a cry of indignation went up from press and people in all parts of the country. Burning alive was comparatively a novelty, even in Judge Lynch's code of punishments. Since that occurrence many lynchings have been perpetrated by burning, and they have excited hardly a word of public comment. Such statistics as have been collected, probably not full nor entirely accurate, indicate that there were more murders by mob violence within the States during the last year than in any year before, and that in but about one-tenth of these cases was there even a charge of the peculiar crime to which lynching is sometimes considered especially appropriate.

As a legal or political question, the character or degree of guilt on the part of the victim of the mob cannot enter into it. If the guiltier man is lynched to-day, the less guilty may be to-morrow, and the innocent man the next day. In fact, a substantial proportion of the victims are innocent of any offence. A mob cannot be trusted to determine this question, and often makes no attempt to determine it. It is less revolting if the mob kills the perpetrator of a heinous crime than if it kills for a trivial offence or no offence at all. But one case involves as much danger to the political system as the other. No civilized community can suffer vengeance to be wreaked or penalties to be visited upon any person by lawless violence. The possible consequences of toleratmg such a practice do not need even to be suggested.

It is not agreeable to reflect that lynching, as the Chinese minister has pointedly reminded us, is peculiarly an American custom. It does not, and could not, exist under any other government in the world having any pretensions to be called civilized. Not in Spain, Russia, or even Turkey, are men and women burned at the stake by mobs, with or without charges of crime. The American States enjoy a complete monopoly of this distinction. The weight of public sentiment in every State undoubtedly is against it. The better element of the people in every State would prevent it. But for one reason or another the States do not prevent it, and it has generally been supposed that the federal government has no power to interfere.

A bill some time ago was introduced in each house of Congress, designed to afford to citizens federal protection against lynching, in default of protection by the States.[2] In substance it provides, in section 1, that the putting to death of a citizen of the United States by a mob in default of protection of such citizen by the State or its officers, shall be deemed a denial to the citizen by the State of the equal protection of the laws, and a violation of the peace of, and an offence against, the United States; in section 2, that every person participating in such mob shall be deemed guilty of murder and subject to prosecution therefor in the federal courts; in section 3, that the county in which a lynching occurs shall be subject to a pecuniary forfeiture, to be recovered by action prosecuted by and in the name of the United States; in section 4, that State peace officers who omit all reasonable efforts to prevent a lynching, and prosecuting officers who omit all reasonable efforts to bring the offenders to justice under the laws of the State, shall be deemed guilty of an offence against the United States and be liable to prosecution and punishment therefor in the federal courts; and in section 5, that State officers having the custody of citizens of the United States charged with crime, who suffer them to be taken from their custody by mobs for the purpose of lynching, shall be deemed guilty of an offence against the United States and be liable to federal prosecution and punishment. Section 6 provides for the exclusion from juries, in such cases, of all persons whose character, conduct or opinions are such as to disqualify them, in the judgment of the court, for the impartial trial of the issue.

Inquiry into the constitutional grounds for the exercise of such a power by the United States may begin by taking an analogous case. The United States, by international law and by treaty obligations, owes to foreign governments a duty of protecting their subjects resident within the States. So highly is this duty regarded by the law of nations that breach of it may be *casus belli*. Within fifteen years, to go back no farther, the United States has several times been called to account for the killing of foreign subjects by mobs within the States; although the practice of the State Department has been, for prudential reasons, to disclaim any direct responsibility for these outrages.

Can it be doubted that the United States, having this duty of protection, and being answerable to the world for

[2] 57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate No. 1117, House No. 4572.

its performance, has power to perform it? There can be but one answer to this question.[3] Whatever preconceived notions may have been, whatever the practice of the government may be, the powers of the United States are necessarily co-extensive with its lawful obligations. Where there is a recognized duty, there must be governmental power adequate to its discharge. Any other rule would make the government a name of reproach.

The early theory that the United States has no police power, so-called, or power to protect life or punish crimes of violence within the States, is already superseded by judicial decision. It is now determined by the highest authority that the United States has such power, when a federal right or duty is invaded or involved. This principle is neither new nor startling, though modern applications of it have attracted attention. For example, it is now held that the United States, by the hand of its marshal, may lawfully kill one who assaults a federal judge traveling through a State in the course of his duty, and that the State cannot hold the marshal to account for such killing;[4] and that the United States may punish, as for murder, one who kills a prisoner in the custody of a federal officer within a State.[5] The principle is that the persons so assailed are within the peace of the United States; that the United States owes them the duty of protection; and that the power of protection follows upon the duty.

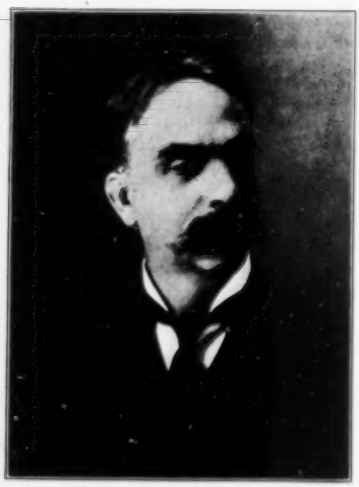
The equality clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbids the States to deny to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. This clause is judicially held to confer immunity from any discrimination, as a federal right. The protection which the State extends to one person must be extended to all. It does not forbid discrimination merely in the making of laws, but in the equal protection which the laws are designed to afford. Forbidding the State to deny equal protection is equivalent to requiring the State to provide it. Equal protection is withheld if a State fails to provide it, and the guaranteed immunity is infringed. The constitutional requirement may be violated by acts of omission, no less than by acts of commission. The omission of the proper officers of the State to furnish equal protection, in any case, is the omission of the State itself, since the State can act only by its officers.[6] It would seem to follow that when a citizen or other person is put to death by a lawless mob, in default of the protection which the State is bound to provide for all alike, there is a denial of equal protection by the State, in the sense of the equality clause, which Congress may prevent or punish by legislation applying to any individuals who participate in or contribute to it, directly or indirectly.

The citizenship clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, by express declaration, creates and confers citizenship of the United States, as a federal right, upon all who are born or naturalized within and are subject to its jurisdiction. Formerly, citizenship of the United States within the States was understood to follow only from State citizenship. The Fourteenth Amendment directly reversed the conditions. Citizenship of the United States is now the primary right and status, proceeding directly from the federal government; while State citizenship is secondary and derivative from it. This effected a change in the relations between the United States and its citizens which has received little direct judicial consideration. The power to protect the lives of its citizens or subjects is an inherent power of every government. It was never doubted that the United States has this power, as a power necessarily implied, and may exercise it throughout the world outside the States. It is now judicially established, as above noted, that it may exercise such power within the States, for the vindication of federal rights or duties. The duty of a government to protect the lives of its citizens is correlative with the power. The citizen is entitled, as of right, to claim such protection. If the United States cannot exercise this power to its full exent within the States, it can be for no other reason than that it is reserved to the States, or to the people. In creating citizenship of the United States by the Fourteenth Amendment, there is no express reservation of this power. The established rule of constitutional construction now is that the United States has the powers commonly incidental to sovereignty except the powers expressly denied or reserved to the States or people, and all implied powers properly incidental to the powers granted. The Fourteenth Amendment expressly authorizes Congress to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation. Such legislation cannot, indeed, extend to establishing a complete code of laws. It must be limited to correction of the particular mischief resulting from violation of the amendment. Legislation

[3] See Baldwin *v.* Franks, 120 U. S. 678, 683.
[4] *In re* Neagle, 135 U. S. 1.
[5] Logan *v.* United States, 144 U. S. 263.
[6] Tenn. *v.* Davis, 100 U. S. 257, 266; Strauder *v.* W. Va., 100 U. S. 303, 306, 310; Va. *v.* Rives, 100 U. S. 313, 318; *Ex parte* Va., 100 U. S. 339, 345; U. S. *v.* Harris, 106 U. S. 629, 639; Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S., 3, 13, 23, *Ex parte* Yarbrough, 110 U. S. 651, 660, *et seq.*; Yick Wo *v.* Hopkins, 118 U. S. 356, 373; Baldwin *v.* Franks, 120 U. S. 683 and (Harlan, J.) 700; *In re* Coy, 127 U. S. 731; Carter *v.* Texas, 177 U. S. 442, 447.

to protect citizens in their lives against mob violence, in default of such protection by the States, apparently goes no farther than to correct the mischief resulting from the default.

It is now held that there is, in legal contemplation, a peace of the United States, existing within and throughout the States. It seems to be judicially regarded as comprehending at least the existence, exercise and undisturbed enjoyment of the rights derived from or under the United States.[7] If this can be taken as established, it would seem to follow that citizens of the United States, whatever may be said of other persons, are entitled to live in its peace, and to have it preserved for the protection of their lives. If the United States can legislate directly for the preservation of its peace within the States, the pending bill appears to be within its powers. If the power and duty to pre-



HON. ALBERT E. PILLSBURY

serve the peace of the United States within the States belong solely to the States, which it may not be wholly safe to concede, and which seems to be inconsistent with principles already established, the failure of the States to preserve it is a breach of duty toward the United States.* In this view it may be contended that the United States has power to deal with such a breach as an offence against itself, on the part of all individuals who contribute to it, directly or indirectly.

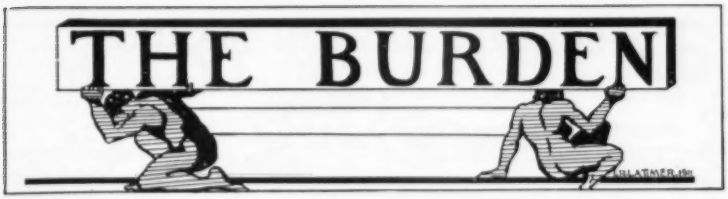
The United States has, as all governments have, a political and legal interest in the lives of its citizens. If it has not full power to protect them in their lives, within the States as it has elsewhere, it can be, as already observed, only because that duty rests solely upon the States. If so, it is a duty owed to the United States, as well as to individual citizens. It would seem that open and notorious neglect or omission of this duty on the part of a State, by suffering lawless mobs to murder citizens for want of legal protection, may be declared an offence against the United States, and if so, that the United States may punish all persons who contribute to it.

It may be said that if the United States has power to protect the lives of its citizens within the States, it must have power to protect their other personal and property rights, and so to supersede State laws by a system of federal legislation, which is impossible. This does not follow. There is no doubt that so far as the express provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment extend, federal legislation for its enforcement may extend, whatever the consequences. For example, if a State should omit to enact any legislation for the protection of a certain class of citizens against crimes of violence, forbidding and punishing such crimes only when committed against the other class or classes, it can hardly be doubted that Congress, under the enforcement clause, may supply the omission by direct legislation, or may perhaps annul the whole system of discriminating laws, leaving the State to provide others which will conform to the requirement of equality. The consequences of the failure of a State to enforce law made for protection against violence are no less disastrous to the unprotected class than the failure of the State to make any such laws. It is difficult to perceive why the power and the duty of Congress to interfere, under the enforcement clause, are not as clear in the one case as in the other.

Apart from the Fourteenth Amendment, it may well be that the United States owes its citizens protection in their lives while not owing them a complete system of laws for the protection of all personal and property rights, and that its power is coextensive with its duty, but extends no farther.

Without attempting an exhaustive inquiry into this delicate and difficult subject, it can safely be assumed that preconceived opinions are not conclusive of the question. In view of express constitutional provisions, and in the present state of judicial decision, the existence or non-existence of this power in the federal government can be determined only by submitting a statute to the test of judicial examination.

[7] *Ex parte* Siebold, 100 U. S. 371; 394; *In re* Neagle, *supra;* Logan *v.* U. S., *supra.*



COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885	78	1899	84
1886	71	1900	107
1887	80	1901	107
1888	95	1902	86
1889	95	1903	86
1890	90	1904	83
1891	121	1905	61
1892	155	1906	64
1893	154	1907	60
1894	134	1908	93
1895	112	1909	73
1896	80	1910	65
1897	122	1911	63
1898	102		

Total.....1,521

The alleged causes for 1911 were:

Murder	36
Rape	7
Attempted rape	7
Insulting women	4
Assault to kill	3
"Prejudice"	2
"Suspected rape"	1
Threats	1
"Desperado"	1
Robbery	1
	63

We give the figures above from the Chicago Tribune. THE CRISIS believes that at least 100 colored people were lynched during the year 1911, and, therefore, we shall, in 1912, keep a careful list ourselves.

¶ Palm Beach, Fla., February 3, 1912.

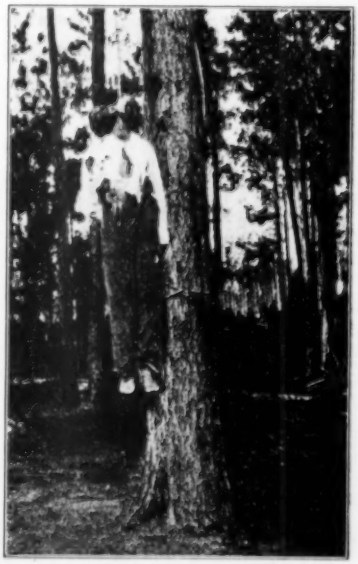
Dear ————:

I am sending you a card, which so aroused me until I purchased the entire supply, with the purpose of enlisting your aid in preventing the publication of such cards. I don't know how to begin this work, but with the co-operation of such men as you, we must accomplish something. Trusting you will give this card and the letter serious consideration, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

A part of the card is reproduced here. It is printed in colors and marked "Made in Germany, No. 28,293, by the H. L. Co."

¶ A large number of Negroes are being arrested as vagrants. A letter in the Savannah Tribune asks: "Is it because there are no loafers among the other races? Or is it on account of the explicit order from the chief of police to arrest Negroes only? A week or ten days ago 108 able-bodied men were arrested and detained in the barracks on suspicion—men who are working every day, or at least whenever an opportunity for work is offered. The 'milk in the cocoanut' is that the farmers want cotton pickers at starvation price and worst treatment, and at the same time there will be races with automobiles very soon —convict labor as opposed to free labor is required to further the money-making scheme of a body of enterprising citizens. Why not lease some of these convicts to the M. & M. T. Co. or O. S. So. Co.? The county has no more interest in automobile races than handling of freight by the companies named. Mr. Editor, I believe the police department could find a number of white loiterers whenever they are instructed to look up such."



"LYNCHED"

HISTORIC DAYS IN MARCH

1. Sumner's Civil Rights Bill signed, 1875.
2. Missouri Compromise passed, 1820.
3. Freedmen's Bureau established, 1865.
4. James Forten, Negro anti-slavery worker, died, 1842.
5. Crispus Attucks fell in the Boston Massacre, 1770.
7. Daniel Webster's 7th of March Speech, 1850.
8. Frederick Douglass advocated an industrial college for the education of Negroes, 1853.
9. Massachusetts ratified Fifteenth Amendment, 1869.
12. Charles Sumner spoke against annexation of San Domingo, 1871.
13. Union armies forbidden to return fugitive slaves, 1862.
14. Menelik became Negus of Abyssinia, 1889.
15. President Lincoln urged the ballot "for some of the colored people," 1864.
17. The Republic of Texas prohibited African slave trade, 1836.
20. New York legalized enlistment of Negroes, War of Revolution, 1781.
23. Slavery abolished in Porto Rico, 1873.
24. Negro troops mustered into Confederate service, 1865.
25. British Parliament abolishes slave trade, 1807.
26. Richard Allen, first bishop of African M. E. Church, died, 1831.
28. French National Assembly gave suffrage to free persons of color in San Domingo, 1790.
29. Napoleon issued decree against slave trade, 1815.
30. Thomas Clarkson, English abolitionist, born, 1760.

Special message of President Grant on the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"It is unusual to notify the two houses of Congress, by message, of the promulgation by proclamation of the Secretary of State, of the ratification of a constitutional amendment. In view, however, of the vast importance of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, this day declared a part of that renewed instrument, I deem a departure from the usual custom justifiable. A measure which makes at once four millions of people voters, who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so (with the assertion that, 'at the time of the Declaration of Independence, the opinion was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, that black men had no rights which the white man was bound to respect'), is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free government to the present day.

"Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly enfranchised race to the importance of their striving in every honorable manner to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race more favored heretofore by our laws I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen. The framers of our Constitution firmly believed that a Republican government could not endure without intelligence and education generally diffused among the people. The 'Father of His Country' in his farewell address, used this language: 'Promote then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of the government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.' In his first annual message to Congress the same views are forcibly presented, and are again urged in his eighth message.

"I repeat that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change and constitutes the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendation of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now, with a population of forty millions, and increasing in a rapid ratio?

"I would, therefore, call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country, and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

L. M. HERSHAW.

Conducted by JESSIE FAUSET

"On the New-time Negro." Mary White Ovington in the Century for January, 1912.

This is a sympathetic drawing of a parallel between the old and the new Negro. Miss Ovington shows that it is only fair to suppose that the loyalty, the gentleness, the love for service, which were found in the Negro in slavery times, are still to be found in him to-day. Only now they are turned toward his own race. Are his qualities then less admirable?

"The Upbuilding of Black Durham, N. C." W. E. B. Du Bois, in The World's Work for January, 1912.

Here is an interesting account—hopeful and sane—dealing with the phenomenon of an ambitious, successful and tolerated group of Negroes in a Southern city. Here one may find a colored insurance company, a hosiery mill, a planing mill and even a small bank, run, it is true, under "rather lenient banking laws." A number of citizens have built themselves comfortable homes, but there is no display—the only item of unusual expenditure is the sending of children away to school. But what a significant item!

Most important of all, Durham is in the South and these people are only a few Negroes in the midst of many whites. The attitude of the latter, however, has not only been in a few cases actively helpful, but is, in the main, passively tolerant. The Negro has been given a chance. Surely this is the solution.

"Flower o' the Peach." Percival Gibbon. The Century Co.

So much that is favorable has been said of this book that it is unnecessary to dwell any further on its merits here. The significant thing is that at last a dispassionate presentation of color-prejudice—its baselessness and its shamefulness—has found its way into modern literature. And, behold! the book sells.

Of course, there is the inevitable love-motif, but one is much more interested in the adventures of the Kaffir It is he who holds our interest next to and almost along with Miss Harding. Hardly anyone can fail to wish that his path may be finally made straight. In a word, whether Mr. Gibbon, who is very discreet, means it or not, the book comes as near having a black hero as

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a white heroine. It is an interesting book from cover to cover, and must have made more than one reader ashamed of his prejudice. One ponders what will be the ultimate effect of books like this. Perhaps—but then it is a far cry from South Africa to America.

¶ "In 1689 the Spanish Crown granted this pueblo a 'league' of land surrounding their church, comprising 17,368 acres. The title of this was confirmed by Act of Congress, December 22, 1858, and is still held by the Indians, except some small tracts that they have sold from time to time, and some huge tracts that they have been juggled out of through the maladministration of the United States Indian officials in New Mexico. Of this, about eight thousand acres were stolen from the Indians in one deal. Eighteen years ago one Smith induced the Santa Clara Indians to sign what they supposed to be a right of way for a road through the land. When the paper turned up for record, in later years, it proved to be a deed to all of the Pueblo lands east of the Rio Grande River, comprising about eight thousand acres. Smith transferred the land to one Hobart, who claimed to be an 'innocent purchaser.' On account of protests, Judge William H. Pope, as attorney for the Indians, filed suit to set aside the deed. But Judge Pope was transferred to the Philippines, and A. J. Abbott was appointed as attorney for the Pueblo Indians in his stead.

"But A. J. Abbott was the attorney for Hobart in the 8,000-acre land deal. This appointment was made under the administration of Clinton J. Crandall, the present Indian Superintendent at Santa Fe.

"That suit for the Indians was allowed to go by default under Crandall's administration of affairs.

"For seven years the Santa Clara Indians have clamored for the reopening of the suit. It was not until the complaints began to become public that F. S. Wilson, the present attorney for the Pueblo Indians, would consent to apply for the reopening of the case. And when he did 'reopen' it he forgot to set up the only grounds upon which he could reasonably hope to win—the ground of 'fraud.'"—From the "Story of Juan Cruz," by William E. Johnson.

¶ The Rev. William Hayne Leavell, D. D., LL. D., a Mississippi divine, is seeking to further the cause of Christianity by urging the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Negro, being an inferior being, must be kept down, and it is better for the moral sense of the community that it should be done openly rather than by subterfuge.

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